Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BUCHAR 03132 01 OF 02 281432Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 DHA-02 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-08
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /069 W
----------281905Z 029094 /46
P 281315Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3002

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 3132

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUN, PFOR, CSCE, RO
SUBJECT: ROMANIAN USE OF REPRESSIVE TACTICS

REF: A. STATE 089684, B. STATE 094008

1. I SHARE THE DEPARTMENT'S CONCERN THAT RECENT EVENTS IN ROMANIA COULD HAVE A NEGATIVE IMPACT ON CONGRESSIONAL CONSIDERATION OF THE $20 MILLION EARTHQUAKE RELIEF APPROPRIATION, MFN RENEWAL AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. I AGREE TOO WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO MAKE THESE CONCERNS KNOWN TO THE GOR AS I HAVE IN MY SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS WITH MACOVESCU, GLIGA, PACOSTE AND NICOLAE AND AS ADCM AND SILINS DID WITH MFA DIRECTOR DOBROIU EARLIER THIS WEEK. WE HAD VIEWED THE BREZEZINSKI-GIURESCU MEETING AS ONE WHICH OFFERED A CERTAIN SET OF UNIQUE ADVANTAGES (I.E. HIGH-LEVEL ADMINISTRATION CONCERN, COMBINED WITH THE PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL RELATIONSHIP AND GUARANTEED ACCESS TO BURTICA AND UPON GIURESCU'S RETURN) AND REGRET IT WAS UNABLE TO TAKE PLACE.

2. MOTIVATIONS BEHIND ROMANIAN ANTI-WESTERN PRESS CAMPAIGN AND SHIFT OF TACTICS VIS-A-VIS DISSIDENTS ARE STILL NOT CLEAR, ALTHOUGH THEY OBVIOUSLY INCLUDE AN ELEMENT OF REACTION TO CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BUCHAR 03132 01 OF 02 281432Z

EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AS WELL AS A GENUINE FEAR OF SPREADING DISSIDENCE AND WORRY OVER THE INTERNAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE BELGRADE PROCESS. THESE ARE DECISIONS WHICH COULD ONLY HAVE BEEN MADE BY CEAUSESCU HIMSELF AND IN THAT REGARD ARE LIKELY TO HAVE BEEN HIGHLY PERSONAL ONES, WHICH CAN ALSO LEAVE PLENTY OF ROOM FOR EXCESS AND MISTAKEN IMPLEMENTATION ALL THE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

WAY DOWN THE LINE. HOPEFULLY, NOT ALL THAT HAS DISTRUBED
US REPRESENTS A RELATIVELY PERMANENT STATE OF AFFAIRS.
THERE HAVE BEEN SOME SIGNS THAT THIS IS TRUE AT LEAST
AS CONCERNS THOSE MATTERS OF A DIRECT BILATERAL NATURE,
I.E. THE SUDDEN REVERSAL ON MALCOLM BROWNE'S VISA AND
THE NON-REOCCURENCE OF RESTRICTIONS ON ACCESS TO EMBASSY
AND LIBRARY. THE NWC/ICAF VISIT IS ON DESPITE OBVIOUS
TIMING PROBLEMS IT CREATES FOR THE ROMANIANS AND PRESENCE
OF DIRECTORATE III CHIEF DOBROIU AND ADCM'S LUNCH FOR
SILINS WAS CLEARLY DESIGNED TO SHOW THAT GOR WOULD LIKE
SOME OF THE RECENT PAST TO BE FORGOTTEN. (DOBROIU
INCIDENTALLY CAME VERY CLOSE TO LINKING INTERFERENCE
WITH LIBRARY AND EMBASSY ACCESS TO BLOCKING OF ACCESS
TO ROMANIAN LIBRARY AT TIME OF HISTORIANS' VISIT. I
CONTINUE INCIDENTALLY TO BELIEVE A BETTER JOB COULD BE DONE OF
PROVIDING SECURITY FOR THE ROMANIAN BUILDING IN NEW
YORK AND WILL BE TALKING ABOUT THIS PROBLEM WITH SILINS.)
IN ADDITION I HAD A REASONABLY NORMAL TURNOUT OF ROMANIAN
GUESTS AT MY RECEPTION FOR THE MERIDIAN HOUSE GROUP LAST
WEEK ALTHOUGH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE STAFF ARE FINDING IT
HARD TO GET ROMANIAN OFFICIALS TO ACCEPT BUSINESS LUNCH
INVITATIONS. (THIS IS PROBABLY PART OF MORE GENERALLY
RESTRICTIVE POLICY ON CONTACTS WITH FOREIGNERS.) THE
ANTI-WESTERN PRESS CAMPAIGN CONTINUES A RELATIVELY
MODERATE, REGULARLY IRREGULAR RHYTHM WTIH THE U.S.
CERTAINLY ONE BUT NOT ONLY TARGET.

3. CONSEQUENTLY, AT LEAST HERE IN BUCHAREST I FEEL WE
HAVE DONE ENOUGH TO REACT FORCEFULLY AND CLEARLY ON THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BUCHAR 03132 01 OF 02 281432Z

BILATERAL PROBLEMS MENTIONED IN REF A THAT HAVE TROUBLED
OUR RELATIONS OF LATE AND SIGNS SHOW THAT THE GOR HAS
GOTTEN THE MESSAGE. IT IS NOT CLEAR TO US WHETHER ANY
OF THESE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED WITH NOCOLAE SINCE HIS RETURN
AS I HAD SUGGESTED AT ONE POINT (BUCHAREST 2431, PARA 12).

4. I AM ALSO RELUCTANT TO GO MUCH FURTHER THAN I HAVE
REGARDING THE ANTI-WESTERN PRESS CAMPAIGN, GIVEN THE
RESERVATIONS I HAVE ABOUT SOME ASPECTS OF RFE COVERAGE,
UNTIL I KNOW THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO EXERCISE TIGHTER
SUPERVISION OVER WHAT RFE BROADCASTS ON INTERNAL
ROMANIAN AFFAIRS (SEE BUCHAREST 2929). FOR THE TIME
BEING I WOULD LIMIT MYSELF TO THE OFFER I HAVE MADE
PREVIOUSLY TO BURTICA AND REPEATED TO PACOSTE, OF OUR
BEING WILLING TO LOOK AT SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF RFE
BROADCASTS GOR CONSIDERS ESPECIALLY OBJECTIONABLE.
TO PUTIT ANOTHER WAY, I THINK WE HAD BEEN LUCKY THAT
GOR HAD NOT WAGED AN ANTI-WESTERN CAMPAIGN OF THE SORT
REGULARLY CONDUCTED IN OTHER WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

WE CANNOT NOW INSIST THEY REVERT TO THAT EARLIER
PATTERN AT THE SAME TIME WE ARE USING RFE FULL BLAST
TO ATTACK THEIR SYSTEM.

5. THIS LEADS ME THEN TO WHAT WE SEE AS THE MAIN
PROBLEM AND ON WHICH REF B FOCUSES AS WELL--GOR
REPRESSSIVE TACTICS AGAINST DISSIDENTS IN THE CONTEXT
OF OUR CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. IT MAY BE THAT
CEAUSESCU'S CHANGE OF TACTICS HAS GONE SO FAR NOW
THAT THE BEST SOLUTION WE COULD HOPE FOR WOULD BE
GOR ACQUIESENCE IN THE DEPARTURE FROM ROMANIA OF THOSE
NOW HELD WHO MIGHT AGREE TO LEAVE. (ONE OF THE SOURCES
MENTIONED IN BUCHAREST 2900 ALSO NOTED THAT AUTHORITIES HAVE ASKED
GOMA TO LEAVE COUNTRY, ALTHOUGH IT IS NOW KNOWN IF HE IS
WILLING TO DO SO, OR IF OFFER IS STILL VALID).
CEAUSESCU IS CAPABLE OF ARRANGING TO STATE THE TRIALS
OF WHICH WE HAVE HEARD RUMORS, BUT HE UNDOUBTEDLY STILL PREFERS TO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 BUCHAR 03132 01 OF 02 281432Z

SMOOTHE THINGS OVER SOMEHOW THROUGH A COMBINATION OF FORCED
DEPARTURES AND SCARE TACTICS. FOR ALL THE IMPORTANCE
OF THE $20 MILLION AND MFN, THERE ARE LIMITES ON WHAT
WE HAVE TO OFFER HIM IN THE LONG RUN TO INDUCE
HIM TO ACT AS AN ENLIGHTENED DESPOT
RATHER THAN AN UNENLIGHTENED ONE. ON THE CONTRARY, IF
THERE IS ANY LESSON ANYWHERE, RESPONSIVENESS TO THE SORT
OF APPROACHES WE WOULD MAKE PROBABLY GUARANTEES HIM
MORE RATHER THAN FEWER PROBLEMS. NONETHELESS, BECAUSE
GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. DO HAVE SOME SIGNIFICANCE
FOR HIM, AND BECAUSE HE NEEDS OUR SUPPORT AT BELGRADE
AND BEYOND, WE MAY BE ABLE TO HAVE SOME LIMITED EFFECT
ON HIM. MORE IMPORTANTLY OUR OWN INTERESTS IN THIS
PART OF EASTERN EUROPE WILL CLEARLY CONTINUE TO BE
SERVED BY A MORE FLEXIBLE ROMANIA, SO WE HAVE TO TRY.

6. THE FOCUS OF ANY APPROACH WOULD THEREFORE BE ON
HUMAN RIGHTS AND ON OUR CONSIDERED VIEW (REF B) THAT
ROMANIA'S REPRESSIVE ANTI-DISSIDENT MOVES CAN BE
HARMFUL TO THE TYPE OF RELATIONS BOTY COUNTRIES HAVE
BEEN CAREFULLY CULTIVATING. WE SHOULD ALSO MAKE THE
CONNECTION WITH BELGRADE BY NOTING THAT THE MORE
ROMANIA BEHAVES LIKE SOME OF ITS LESS FLEXIBLE ALLIES
THE LESS IT CAN MAINTAIN ITS IMAGE OF BEING DIFFERENT
AND THEREFORE MERITING MORE UNDERSTANDING TREATMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BUCHAR 03132 02 OF 02 281429Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 DHA-02 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-08
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /069 W
----------281904Z 028976 /46
P 281315Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3003

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUCHAREST 3132

FROM US. IN SUCH A CONTEXT WE COULD MENTION BAPTISTS, GOMA AND SUPPORTERS, AND GEORGESCU AS CASES IN POINT, AND REFER TO RELIEF AID, MFN AND THE GENERAL FABRIC OF OUR RELATIONS. WE SHOULD ADD ONE BILATERAL ELEMENT--MARRIAGES, WHERE THE REFUSAL RATE HAS SUDDENLY RISEN, ALTHOUGH APPROVALS CONTINUE AS WELL (BUCHAREST 3099).

7. SO FAR AS TACTICS ARE CONCERNED, I BELIEVE THE TIME HAS COME FOR WASHINGTON TO BACK UP THE APPROACHES I HAVE ALREADY MADE AND WILL MAKE HERE WITH A COMPARABLE DISCUSSION WITH NICOLAE IN WASHINGTON. THE BEST INITIAL SETTING AS SEEN FROM HERE WOULD BE AN EARLY HARTMAN-NICOLAE MEETING, WHICH IN MY JUDGMENT WOULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE IF DONE INFORMALLY SAY OVER LUNCH BECAUSE IT WOULD BE SEEN BOTH AS SERIOUS BUT ALSO AS A SENSITIVE APPROACH. THIS MIGHT BE FOLLOWED AT LATER STAGES, IF NEEDED, BY NICOLAE BEING ASKED TO SEE THE DEPUTY SECRETARY AND DR. BRZEZINSKI. SO FAR AS WE KNOW, NICOLAE HAS NOT HEARD THESE QUESTIONS RAISED OTHER THAN BY ME.

8. HERE MY INTENTION IS TO START WITH MACOVESCU, BOTH BECAUSE I HAVE COVERED SOME OF THE GROUND WITH HIM AND OUT OF COURTESY, BUT ALSO TO REQUEST APPOINTMENTS WITH ANDREI AND BURTICA. GIVEN THE MAY DAY WEEKEND AND THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION I MAY NOT SUCCEED IN SEEING ALL
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BUCHAR 03132 02 OF 02 281429Z

THREE ALL THAT RAPIDLY. IN LIGHT OF THE LIKELY DEALYS IN THE EARTHQUAKE RELIEF APPROPRIATION PROCESS I WILL ASK AGAIN TO SEE CEAUSESCU, BUT ONLY AFTER A WASHINGTON APPROACH AND AFTER I HAVE SEEN ENOUGH OF THE OTHERS TO BE SURE THAT OUR MESSAGE IS GETTING THROUGH. WITH AN EVENTUAL CEAUSESCU MEETING

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

IN MIND I ASK THAT WASHINGTON START GIVING CONSIDERATION
NOW TO A SUPPLEMENTAL PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE WHICH I COULD
DELIVER TO CEAUSESCU WHICH WOULD AMPLIFY THE HUMAN RIGHTS
POINT IN THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER OF MARCH 22 IN LIGHT OF
DEVELOPMENTS SINCE. OF COURSE IF I SEE ANY OF THESE
INDIVIDUALS EARLIER THAN NOW PLANNED, I WILL TALK ALONG
LINES LAID OUT ABOVE.

9. REQUEST COMMENTS ON THIS OUTLINE.
BARNES

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL REPRESSION, HUMAN RIGHTS, POLICIES, DISSIDENT FACTIONS, ARRESTS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 28-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BUCHAR03132
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770148-1290
Format: TEL
From: BUCHAREST
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770411/aaaaaisn.tel
Line Count: 234
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: d02e3e9c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 STATE 89684, 77 STATE 94008
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2671000
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ROMANIAN USE OF REPRESSIVE TACTICS
TAGS: SHUM, PFOR, RO, US, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/d02e3e9c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009